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CHINA SCHOLARS ON PEKING LEADERSHIP SHUFFLE
(TAPE INSERTS IN TAPE LIBRARY)

ANNCR:

FOREIGN OBSERVERS ARE CLOSELY WATCHING REPORTS FROM CHINA, WHERE FROM ALL EVIDENCE A BITTER CONTEST IS TAKING PLACE BETWEEN CONTENDING POLITICAL GROUPS...EACH OF WHICH HAS CLAIMED THE RIGHT TO CARRY ON THE WORK OF MAO TSE-TUNG. THE CHOICE OF HUA KUO-FENG AS SUCCESSOR TO MAO AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, COUPLED WITH THE PUBLIC DENUNCIATION OF FOUR LEADING RADICAL POLITICAL FIGURES -- INCLUDING MAO'S WIFE (CHIANG CHING) -- IS SEEN AS A CLEAR CUT VICTORY BY CHINA'S MORE MODERATE LEADERS. VOA'S JOSEPH SULLIVAN DISCUSSES THE VIEWS OF SEVERAL AMERICAN SCHOLARS IN CHINESE AFFAIRS.

VOICE:

THE DRAMA NOW UNFOLDING IN CHINA HAS GIVEN OUTSIDE OBSERVERS A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES FACTIONALISM THAT HAS LEFT ITS MARK ON CHINESE POLITICAL DYNAMICS OVER THE PAST DECADE. BUT PERHAPS LEAST UNDERSTOOD ARE THE POLICY DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE SUSTAINED THE POLEMIC BETWEEN CHINA'S SO-CALLED MODERATE AND RADICAL GROUPS.

DOCTOR PARRIS CHANG IS PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AT PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY AND THE AUTHOR OF NUMEROUS ARTICLES ON CHINESE POLITICAL AFFAIRS. HE BELIEVES THE DRAMA TAKING PLACE IN PEKING INVOLVES BOTH IDEOLOGY AND PERSONALITY CONFLICTS. THE MODERATES, HE SAYS, STAND FOR LAW AND ORDER... STABILITY...DISCIPLINE...AND UNITY, WHILE THE RADICALS TEND TO EMPHASIZE CONFLICT..."CLASS STRUGGLE"...AND REVOLUTION. BOTH FACTIONS, SAYS DOCTOR CHANG, STRESS DEVELOPMENT, BUT THE RADICALS

LOOK UPON DEVELOPMENT AS A RESULT OF REVOLUTION...EMPHASIZING
IDEOLOGICAL INCENTIVES, REVOLUTIONARY PURITY, AND SELF-RELIANCE.

TAPE: CUT ONE -- CHANG

"THE MODERATES TEND TO LOOK AT MATERIAL INCENTIVES AS INEVITABLE AND ARE MORE PRAGMATIC. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY SEE NOTHING WRONG WITH IMPORTING FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY TO SPEED DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA'S INDUSTRIES AND ECONOMY. THE MODERATES ARE MUCH MORE CONCERNED WITH THE IMPACT OF THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE ON ECONOMIC PRODUCTION, WHILE THE RADICALS FEEL THAT STRUGGLE ITSELF IS INTRINSICALLY GOOD...THAT IT WILL GIVE PEOPLE A KIND OF IDEOLOGICAL MOTIVATION FOR SPEEDING UP ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT."

VOICE:

THE MODERATES, PROFESSOR CHANG OBSERVES, HAVE BEEN UNDER FIRE SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE 1960'S, WHEN MANY WERE VICTIMIZED BY THE RADICALS. MORE RECENTLY, HE ADDS, THE MODERATES WERE SINGLED OUT AS TARGETS OF ATTACK DURING THE SO-CALLED "ANTI-RIGHTIST" CAMPAIGN IN CHINA. PROFESSOR CHANG BELIEVES THAT A STRONG FEELING OF PERSONAL BITTERNESS HAS DEVELOPED AMONG THE MODERATES, AS WELL AS A FEELING THAT THE RADICALS HAVE BROKEN THE RULES OF THE GAME, AND THAT THIS HAS BEEN VERY MUCH OF AN ELEMENT ON THE CHINESE POLITICAL SCENE OVER THE PAST DECADE.

AS FOR THE FUTURE, PROFESSOR CHANG HAS THIS PREDICTION:

TAPE: CUT TWO -- CHANG

"I THINK THAT WITH THE PASSING OF CHAIRMAN MAO IN SEPTEMBER, AND NOW WITH THE REMOVAL OF RADICAL LEADERS, THE DAYS OF MAOIST REVOLUTION ARE OVER AND THE TREND OF PRAGMATISM IS GOING TO BE VERY STRONG IN THE YEARS TO COME. WE CAN EXPECT THE MODERATES TO EMPHASIZE DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNIZATION, AND WE ARE GOING TO SEE A MORE PRAGMATIC TYPE OF POLICIES FOLLOWED IN THE FIFTH FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN WITH GREATER STRENGTH AND SPEED. AND WE ARE GOING TO SEE RELAXATION OF THE VERY TIGHT IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL IMPOSED BY THE RADICALS IN THE PAST FOUR OR FIVE YEARS. IN FOREIGN POLICY, CHINA IS GOING TO BE MORE PRAGMATIC TOO."

VOICE:

AS FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION, PROFESSOR CHANG SEES SOME RELAXATION OF TENSION BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNIST POWERS.

TAPE: CUT THREE -- CHANG

"THE CHANCES FOR A SINO-SOVIET ALLIANCE OF THE KIND THAT EXISTED IN 1950'S ARE VERY SLIM. BUT CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE CERTAINLY GOING TO GET TOGETHER AND TRY TO SETTLE MAJOR ISSUES OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THEM. STILL THESE TWO MAJOR POWERS HAVE TOO MUCH IN CONTENTION, AND THEY ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS AND ISSUES OF CONFLICT. BUT AT LEAST SOME OF THE MORE IMMINENT ISSUES, SUCH AS THE BORDER QUESTION AND SOME IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS COULD BE RESOLVED. IN SUM, THEY COULD IMPROVE TO SOME EXTENT THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS, BUT THERE ARE STILL MANY ISSUES OF A GLOBAL SCALE ON WHICH THEY WILL CONTINUE TO BE IN CONFLICT."

VOICE:

ANOTHER SCHOLAR IN THE FIELD IS PROFESSOR FRANZ MICHAEL -- A MEMBER OF THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY'S SINO-SIVET INSTITUTE. HE SAYS THE OVERRIDING ISSUE IN CHINESE POLITICAL CIRCLES HAS BEEN THE QUESTION OF PERPETUAL REVOLUTION -- AS ADVOCATED BY THE RADICALS -- AND PHASED DEVELOPMENT -- AS ADVOCATED BY THE MODERATE GROUP. THE PRESENT CONFLICT, PROFESSOR MICHAEL, SAYS DATES BACK TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, WHEN, IN HIS WORDS: "MAO TSE-TUNG TRIED TO ESTABLISH HIS OWN FOLLOWING IN A SYSTEM IN WHICH HE FELT THERE SHOULD BE A REVOLUTION TO BE REPEATED AT INTERVALS FROM TIME TO TIME."

THE MAOIST CONCEPT OF "PERPETUAL REVOLUTION," PROFESSOR MICHAEL SAYS, WHILE CERTAINLY THE MAJOR UNRESOLVED ISSUE FROM THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, IT IS NOT THE ONLY ONE:

TAPE: CUT FOUR -- MICHAEL

"PART OF THE STORY IS SIMPLY A POWER STRUGGLE...A POWER STRUGGLE AFTER THE DEATH OF MAO TSE-TUNG. WHAT MAO HAD TRIED TO DO WAS TO MAKE SURE THAT HIS INTERPRETATION OF POLICY WOULD CONTINUE AND THAT HIS GROUP WOULD CONTROL THE POLICY AFTER HIS DEMISE. NOW, AS IT HAPPENED, THE MAN WHOM HE REALLY ENTRUSTED WITH THE MAJOR POWER -- HUA KUO-FENG -- DID ASSUME THE POWER HIMSELF. HUA WAS PROMOTED BY MAO DURING AND AS A RESULT OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, AND WAS ENTRUSTED WITH THE PUBLIC SECURITY APPARATUS. AND IT WAS OBVIOUSLY MAO'S INTENT THAT THIS WOULD GUARANTEE THE POWER OF HIS GROUP AFTER HIS DEATH. BUT, IN MY VIEW, HUA TOOK OVER POWER IN ALLIANCE WITH THE MILITARY AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF CHEN HSI-LIEN, COMMANDER OF THE PEKING MILITARY REGION."

VOICE:

PROFESSOR MICHAEL SAYS IT'S DIFFICULT TO PREDICT WITH ANY PRECISION WHAT POLICY LINES WILL BE FOLLOWED BY MAO TSE-TUNG'S SUCCESSORS.

TAPE: CUT FIVE -- MICHAEL

"SO FAR, THE VOCABULARY IS STILL MAOIST IN TONE. BUT I DO BELIEVE THAT ONCE IN POWER, HUA KUO-FENG, IF HE CAN MAINTAIN POWER HIMSELF -- AND THAT'S A BIG QUESTION MARK -- WILL FOLLOW A MORE ORTHODOX COMMUNIST POLICY AND ALSO PERHAPS SOONER OR LATER A NEW FOREIGN POLICY. THERE IS A CLEAR POSSIBILITY OF A NEW ALIGNMENT BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING. I HAVE ALWAYS REGARDED THE ORTHODOX COMMUNISTS -- THESE INCLUDE CHOU EN-LAI AND TENG HSIAO-PING -- AS THE GROUP THAT MOST LIKELY WOULD COME TO TERMS WITH MOSCOW, PROVIDED THAT MOSCOW'S POLICY IS ATTRACTIVE. AND THAT, OF COURSE, REMAINS TO BE SEEN."

VOICE:

THE PRESENT CONFLICT IN PEKING, PROFESSOR MICHAEL CONCLUDES, CREATES GREAT UNCERTAINTY THAT AFFECTS NOT ONLY CHINA'S DOMESTIC POLICY, WHICH HE SAYS MAY BE CLEAR TO SEE, BUT THE FUTURE OF FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH IS UNPREDICTABLE AND THEREFORE CRUCIAL FOR ALL CONCERNED.

CHINA SCHOLARS ARE ALSO PONDERING THE FUTURE OF CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE CHINESE SUCCESSION CONFLICT AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PROFESSOR ALAN WHITING -- WRITING ON THIS QUESTION IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES" -- BELIEVES THE FALL OF CHIANG

CHING AND HER THREE SHANGHAI ASSOCIATES REMOVES WHAT HE CALLS "THE MOST POISONOUS ELEMENTS" IN PEKING AFFECTING SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. THIS DOES NOT GUARANTEE A QUICK AGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN, HE SAYS. BUT IT DOES, IN HIS WORDS: "REMOVE THE PRIMARY OBSTACLE TO CHINESE COMPROMISE."

MAO TSE-TUNG'S PERSONAL APPROVAL OF DETENTE WITH THE UNITED STATES, PROFESSOR WHITING OBSERVES, WAS CLEAR AND CONSISTENT FROM HIS INITIAL 1970 INVITATION TO PRESIDENT NIXON TO VISIT CHINA. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAYS, THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL MEDIA, UNDER CHIANG CHING'S CONTROL, PUSHED A HARD ANTI-AMERICAN LINE REFLECTING HER RADICAL PROCLIVITIES. SIMILARLY, HE SAYS, SO LONG AS PREHIE RHUA KUO-FENG COULD BE CHALLENGED BY A FORMIDABLE FACTION ON SO PROMINENT A QUESTION OF NATIONAL SENSITIVITY, HE WOULD BE FORCED TO TAKE AN INFLEXIBLE LINE. HOWEVER, PROFESSOR WHITING CONCLUDES, NOW THAT MISTER HUA'S POSITION IN BOTH THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT IS APPARENTLY SECURE FROM ATTACK, HE IS FREE TO RESUME THE COURSE ENVISIONED BY MAO TSE-TUNG AND CHOU EN-LAI.

ANNCR:

THE VIEWS OF THREE AMERICAN SCHOLARS ON THE LATEST POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA AND THEIR MEANING FOR CHINA'S FUTURE.

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